

1918—



—1947

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# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

*An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association*

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXVI, No. 37

JUNE 27, 1947

## MARSHALL PLAN OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN UN

BY happy coincidence the second anniversary of the San Francisco Charter, signed on June 26, 1945, is being celebrated in a week that may prove to be a turning-point in the post-war period. For it is this week that Britain, France and Russia are to start discussing the history-making offer of Secretary of State Marshall, presented at Harvard University on June 5, to extend American aid for Europe's long-term reconstruction provided the European nations take the initiative in assessing their own needs and resources and draw up concrete plans for economic cooperation with this country. Washington's offer of assistance to nations abroad, some of which are on the brink of economic disaster, promises to open a new chapter in the work of the United Nations organization, which is the logical agency for coordinating the infinitely complex tasks of world reconstruction.

UN ONLY AS STRONG AS ITS PARTS. Two years after its establishment at San Francisco, the United Nations organization has not fulfilled the hopes of its more sanguine supporters; but neither has it justified the fears of the detractors and doubting Thomases who predicted its early collapse. In assessing the record of the UN, we must bear in mind three important points. First, international organization, including the quarter of a century of existence of the League of Nations, has as yet been given only a brief trial when measured in the perspective of world history. Second, some of the major problems of the post-war settlement, notably the peace treaties with Germany, Japan, and Axis satellites, were by common consent of the Allies excluded from the sphere of activities of the UN. And third, the UN, like its predecessor the League of Nations, can only be as strong as its parts. It is but an aggregation of nations, and its members must endow it

with their own strength—moral, economic and military—if the UN is to prove effective in dealing with global problems.

Whenever the nations composing the UN are at odds with each other—and especially when there is a conflict between the two strongest members, the United States and Russia—the UN is bound to reach a deadlock making it impotent to act. Such a deadlock has been reached on the closely related issues of international control of atomic energy and reduction of armaments. Nor has much progress been made toward placing national contingents of military forces at the disposal of the UN, as provided in the Charter. These issues directly concern the security of UN members. The conflicts that have arisen in the Security Council, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Military Committee reveal the extent to which the World War victors, having so far failed to make a stable peace, continue to fear renewal of war.

HABIT OF COOPERATION DEVELOPED. However, other issues, not directly related to decisions about armaments, have been discussed by members of the UN in a spirit of give-and-take which encourages the hope that, in time, nations may develop the difficult habit of cooperation. The UN members have found it possible, for example, to conduct an international investigation of charges and counter-charges by Greece and its neighbors which in other circumstances might have precipitated a dangerous Balkan clash. In its report the Balkans Investigation Commission of the UN whitewashes neither side but calls for future self-restraint by both. In the case of Palestine, one of the most thorny problems of our times, the great powers had the wisdom to efface themselves, at least temporarily, and leave the direct work of inquiry to smaller na-

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tions relatively free of prejudice about this violently contested land. It is too early to predict whether the UN Special Committee on Palestine can succeed in devising a settlement acceptable to all parties, but there is no doubt that its views will carry great weight, and may persuade world public opinion to accept whatever solution it proposes.

Meanwhile, the creation of the Trusteeship Council (on which Russia is not yet represented), in spite of the admitted shortcomings of some of the trusteeship agreements, has influenced colonial powers now engaged in working out a larger measure of independence for dependent peoples in Asia and Africa. The establishment by the Economic and Social Council of the Economic Commission for Europe long opposed but finally joined by Russia, has served to focus public attention on the possibility of integrating the reconstruction programs of individual European nations into a continental project. While the Commission cannot of itself cure Europe's deep-seated economic ills, it may provide the machinery for carrying out the program of United States-European cooperation for recovery envisaged by Marshall.

**UN CAN CREATE FEELING OF COMMON WEAL.** Incomplete, cumbersome and creaky as the mechanism of the UN often appears to be—especially to those who impatiently urge the immediate establishment of world government—it nevertheless offers invaluable opportunities for that experience of “working together” without which no human institution can function. Only by thus working together, day in and day out, on the innumerable, often wearisome tasks that make up the substance of life within and between nations, can the peoples of the world, still so diverse in political, economic and social development, achieve that feeling of common weal essential to unite permanently any group of human beings. And while the members of the UN

will continue for years ahead to have sharp divergences on political questions, their common needs for recovery and reconstruction may prove to be the mortar of the international edifice. This possibility gives added significance to Marshall's offer of economic assistance which, although he did not explicitly say so at Harvard, is assumed by other nations to have been proffered within the framework of the UN.

What we urgently need today is not to create additional international machinery, but to make the fullest possible use of the agencies we already have, and not try to substitute unilateral national action for action by all nations through the UN. In time all nations, including the great powers which now enjoy the right of veto in the Security Council, will have to face the fact that international organization requires subordination of national interests to those of the world community. It also requires, on occasion, constructive intervention—not by this or that nation alone but by the world community—in what we now call the internal or domestic affairs of nations. For it is no longer possible, as we have most recently seen in Hungary and Greece, to draw a hard and fast line between domestic and foreign affairs.

Two years of the UN confirm the impression, which was already clear in San Francisco, that we are living in an age of painfully difficult transition, when nations are increasingly conscious of the necessity to escape from narrow nationalism if they are to survive at all, yet, like timid swimmers, are still fearful or reluctant to take the plunge into genuine international cooperation. The United States, with its unmatched resources and its acknowledged industrial leadership, can play a decisive part in speeding this transition by unremittingly seeing to it that all measures it undertakes abroad are channeled through the United Nations.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

## ARABS CAMPAIGN FOR U.S. SUPPORT OF MOROCCAN NATIONALISTS

Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League, was reported on June 20 to have warned that one of the five Arab states in the United Nations will bring formal charges against French rule in North Africa within the next few months unless France moves toward a settlement of Tunisian, Algerian and Moroccan demands. This latest threat in the Arab war of nerves against France is closely related to three recent incidents which have drawn attention to the French protectorate of Morocco: (1) the May 31 escape of sixty-five-year old Abd el Krim, a Moroccan warrior who has been in French custody for twenty-one years; (2) a French proposal, made public unofficially on June 10, which would take away most of the powers of the Sultan of Morocco, while inaugurating a joint Moroccan-French council of state and providing for popu-

lar elections; and (3) Azzam Pasha's assertion on June 19 that President Roosevelt had orally promised the Sultan to support a movement to free Morocco from French rule after the war.

**ABD EL KRIM IN EGYPT.** In Egypt, where he is living on a grant of \$8,000 a month from the Egyptian government, Abd el Krim declared on June 2 that he wanted to return to Morocco and work for his country's political independence. His action in jumping ship at Port Said, while traveling through the Suez Canal from the French island of Reunion on his way to France, was apparently inspired by the Maghreb Office, an organization of Tunisian, Algerian and Moroccan exiles in Cairo. These ardent North African nationalists, led by Habib Bourguiba, eloquent agitator for Tunisian independence, saw the psychological value of hav-

ing the old Riff war leader in their midst. King Farouk of Egypt, who aspires to leadership of the Arab world, was doubtless pleased at the opportunity to grant Abd el Krim's request for asylum, even though Egypt may have been embarrassed by France's diplomatic protest.

**ROOSEVELT AND THE SULTAN.** Azzam Pasha's account of President Roosevelt's reputed promise to the Sultan of Morocco is part of an Arab campaign to commit the United States to support North African independence movements. Moroccan nationalists had hoped that the arrival of American troops during the war would prepare the way for the ending of French rule. Disappointed in this hope, they nonetheless continue to seek American aid. A representative of the Maghreb Office, who also serves as a delegate of the Moroccan independence movement, arrived in New York on June 12 to establish here a "branch" of the Cairo organization.

What Roosevelt told the Sultan in a private conversation during the Casablanca conference may never be known. The French were angered by the fact that this meeting marked the first occasion on which France's Resident-General was not allowed to be present while the Sultan talked to a foreign official. It is probable, however, that Azzam Pasha and the Sultan greatly exaggerate the significance of whatever remarks the President may have made.

**FRENCH PLANS FOR REFORM.** France's plan to limit the Sultan's powers is part of an administrative reform program which has some merit but may backfire. It calls to mind Britain's post-war effort to strip the Malayan Sultans of their powers in order to promote administrative efficiency and national unity in Malaya. The response to this attempt was an outburst of protest in which Malayan popular leaders backed the Sultans.

True, there are many differences between Malaya and Morocco. In the latter country, national feeling has been slow in developing. Racially and linguistically, Morocco is divided between Arabs and Berbers whose chief common bond is the Moslem re-

ligion. Since the French suppression of a Moroccan independence movement in January 1944, however, there have been many indications of rising nationalism. This nationalist feeling has found a rallying point in the person of the popular Sultan, Sidi Muhammad ibn Yusuf, who takes a personal interest in the welfare and progress of his 8,000,000 countrymen.

France regards the Moroccan work of its great colonial administrator, Marshal Lyautey, as a masterpiece of French colonialism. The French point out that war and banditry are gone, and that Morocco now has a safe water supply, a good medical service, a network of roads, and train, telephone, telegraph and postal services. Contending that they can and will contribute much more to Morocco in the future, the French are inclined to underestimate the significance of the growing nationalist movement. Moroccan leaders, like nationalists in other colonial areas, argue that these material improvements were undertaken for the benefit of more than 350,000 Europeans in Morocco, and that, in any case, they are a poor substitute for freedom.

For France, Morocco is the indispensable western bastion of French North Africa. Moreover, the protectorate is potentially rich in mineral resources. It has large phosphate mines, and is developing cobalt, manganese, lead and coal. Coal production now totals 200,000 tons a year, but French experts believe this figure can be raised to 600,000 tons. French capital is going to Morocco. In the first eight months of 1946, 8,228,000,000 francs were transferred from France, and 7,900,000,000 francs from Algeria. Morocco is also a source of manpower for the French army. The combination of these economic and strategic factors has enhanced the importance of Morocco for France, weakened by two world wars, at the very moment when nationalist ferment is causing Moroccans to demand the end of French rule. This conflict of interests and views is not peculiar to Morocco or even to the French Empire. It is a striking indication of the new post-war strategic and economic importance of nearly all colonies, and is certain to draw increasing world attention to the continent of Africa.

VERNON MCKAY

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July 1 issue of FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS

REPORTS are issued on the 1st and 15th of each month.

Subscription \$5; to F.P.A. members, \$4.

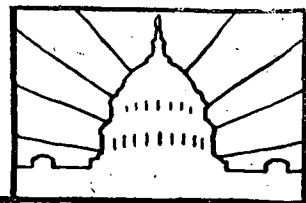
FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXVI, No. 37, JUNE 27, 1947. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. BROOKS EMBENY, *President*; HELEN M. DAGGETT, *Secretary*; VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Editor*. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Four Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Six Dollars a Year

*Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.*



# Washington News Letter



## FRANCE SEEKS ACTIVE ROLE IN RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

Whether European nations will succeed in drawing up the over-all plan for reconstruction of the continent which Secretary of State Marshall suggested on June 5 as the prerequisite to additional American economic aid to Europe depends for such an extent on France that French reaction to the "Marshall plan" is being attentively studied in Washington.

**FRANCE EAGER TO TAKE LEAD.** All French parties, with the single exception of the Communists—who were expelled from the cabinet on May 10—have expressed warm approval of Secretary Marshall's proposal, and the government instructed Ambassador Henri Bonnet as early as June 12 to inform Marshall that France enthusiastically welcomed his project. Contrary, therefore, to a widespread report that Paris was unwilling to commit itself on Washington's proposal until assurances were given that it did not exclude the U.S.S.R., the French government decided on its course of action before the Secretary of State had told a press conference that his conception of Europe included "everything west of Asia." Nor did M. Bonnet express his government's approval in mere generalities. France, he declared, in its eagerness to secure speedy European action, had already considered specific means whereby estimates might be made of Europe's most pressing needs, and had suggested that a series of special committees be established to consider major items such as coal, transport and food.

Following an exploratory conference in Paris on June 17, British Foreign Minister Bevin and French Foreign Minister Bidault decided that it would be futile to draw up blueprints for Europe until they knew whether Russia would be willing to participate, and decided to invite Russian Foreign Minister Molotov to meet with them during the week of June 23. On June 23 the Moscow radio, quoting a dispatch of the official Soviet news agency Tass, stated that the Soviet Union "accepts the proposal of the French and British Governments and agreed to take part in a conference of the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs." This conference is to open in Paris on June 27. Earlier M. Bidault had told the French Assembly that "the making of Europe must be now or never."

**ECONOMIC CRISIS AND FOREIGN POLICY.** In spite of the enthusiastic response the French government has made to the Marshall proposal, it is by no means certain that the French, who are now fac-

ing their worst economic crisis since liberation, will be able to maintain a sufficiently stable political and economic regime to act decisively on plans for the reconstruction of Europe. During the past few weeks France's battle against inflation has entered a new phase which may profoundly affect both foreign and domestic policies.

The anti-inflationary policy which the Socialist Premier, Paul Ramadier, and his government have attempted to follow for five months, has been based on the proposition that wages and prices must be kept frozen until the end of 1947. By that time it was hoped that production would begin to keep pace with demand. The first major blow was struck against this policy early in May, when a wave of strikes occurred in the principal heavy industries. So strong was the demand for higher wages that the Communist leaders, who had heretofore adhered to the government's economic policy, felt obliged to support the strikes, although the price of doing so was their expulsion from the cabinet. In settling the strikes the government won what turned out to be an empty victory, for although it successfully maintained its thesis that wages should not be raised, it agreed to the payment of production bonuses. But it was not until the railroad strike the second week of June that the government's wage policy was virtually abandoned. Since the pay received by railroad workers could not be increased by production bonuses, the government was obliged to grant straight wage increases—a precedent which encouraged employees in the banks and Parisian department stores to go on strike June 20.

Meanwhile, pressure for another round of wage increases is being generated by the rise in prices which has taken place since the beginning of the year. This rise, however, will probably be negligible in comparison with the increase which may be anticipated during the next few weeks. For not only have wages been raised, but the cabinet reached the drastic decision on June 20 to recommend both the levying of higher taxes on public utilities and luxuries and the suspension of subsidies totaling 21 billion francs to producers of wheat, milk, farm machinery and fertilizers. Under these conditions France seems to be facing a period of heightened economic and political unrest at the very moment it seeks to assume a leading role in devising a plan for European economic recovery.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL